

## II

### SHAKESPEARE ON SLEEP AND DREAMS

IN THIS day and age when writers are so obviously concerned with contemporary happenings and with recent discoveries in science and psychology, it is probably quite superfluous to remind ourselves that other writers of other times were similarly absorbed with the background of their period. So often, however, we have a tendency to study great literature as though it were written in a vacuum. We feel that the masterpieces of a genius are spun, as a spider does its web, from material which lies only within himself, instead of being gathered, as the bee does its honey, from the whole world of knowledge. Such a conception, however, has long been recognized as erroneous. Thomas Henry Huxley, for example, in his essay "Science and Culture," says,

. . . we cannot know all the best thoughts and sayings of the Greeks unless we know what they thought about natural phenomena. We cannot fully appreciate their criticism of life unless we understand the extent to which that criticism was affected by scientific conceptions.

This statement obviously fits any period of literature, but especially does it apply to the age of the English Renaissance whose great writers have been called "the buccaneers of the high seas of literature." "The student's duty," then, "is to get to know the opinions and feelings of the folk amongst whom his author lived." In consideration of the rebirth of learning and the interest in and further development of popular mediaeval science which permeated Elizabethan England, this duty falls doubly upon us who would make the

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attempt to interpret the art of Shakespeare. Many years ago Oliver Elton said that the chief critical task of our time is to understand the mind of the English Renaissance, while more recently J. Dover Wilson spoke of

the whole vast continent, mostly unexplored so far of the Elizabethan mind, the mind of Shakespeare's audience and of Shakespeare himself, with its alchemical and astrological prepossessions, its demonology and its ghost lore, its barbarous medicine and its bizarre psychology. . . .

If in the course of our reading, then, we should happen upon a passage in Shakespeare which does not immediately seem clear to the twentieth century mind, it is not for us to sit in a corner and try to guess its meaning, or even to attempt to reason it out. Our only recourse in such an event, and it becomes well-nigh a duty, is to discover what Shakespeare's audience understood by the passage. For in the last analysis what the audience understood is what Shakespeare meant. The genius of Shakespeare lies in his ability to take the dull metal of mere fact and story and by the alchemy of his mind to transform it into the gold of great literature. All of this is very trite, and it is offered in a truly apologetic spirit, but we are usually so impressed by the beauty and power of Shakespeare as a dramatist, that we forget that he may not have meant what we think he means.

The Elizabethan conceptions of sleep and dreams take on a good deal of interest for us when we recall the large number of poems written on these subjects, not to speak of the numerous times when Shakespeare has made use of figures directly based on these conceptions. Elizabethan writers on the psychology of sleep usually define sleep as a kind of separation of the soul from the body,<sup>1</sup> or a rest of the five outward senses, together with the sixth or common sense.<sup>2</sup> During this time it is the phantasy or fancy alone which is

<sup>1</sup>For footnotes see page 130 of this pamphlet.

free, as we can see by the numerous dreams that people have. As Levin Lemnius, writing in 1581, puts it,

Sleepe is nothing els but a restinge of the Animal faculty, and a pawsing from the actions and busines of the day, wherby the vertues of the bodies being faynt, and the powers thereof beinge resolued, are reuiued and made fresh againe, and all the weary members & Senses recomforted. For when the powers natural be fresh and lusty, natue heate gathering it self inward, is of more force and strongly applyeth concoction, performinge the same not onely in the Stomack, but also through the whole body beside, whose vapour and pleasaunt sent moisteneth the brayne, & bringeth a sleepe the Instrumentes of the Senses.<sup>3</sup>

Albertus Magnus, in his popular commentary on Aristotle's treatise on sleep, simplifies the matter somewhat more. In a normal state of mind and body, according to Albertus, there exist the spirits which are the vehicle of all the processes of life proceeding from the soul. These spirits originate beneath the heart and are created by the action of bodily heat upon the moisture of food. From the heart the spirits flow first to the liver, where they become natural spirits, governing the involuntary processes (especially digestion); and second they flow to the brain where they become the animal spirits, governing the functions of the five senses, thinking, and imagination. Now these spirits being naturally warm and subtle, move outward through the pores and evaporate. When a sufficient amount has evaporated, the external organs become cold, driving the spirits inward, and sleep naturally ensues.<sup>4</sup> Sleep then, as Dr. Wirtzung tells us in the 1598 edition of his *General Practise of Physicke*, is merely a warming and moistening of the spirits, and when this process is entirely completed, we awaken.<sup>5</sup> Some such conception seems to underlie several passages in Shakespeare. It is quite true that there is a strong literary as well as scientific tradition for much of the science which we are discussing, but the point is that for the Elizabethans these passages are not mere figures of speech, but are the repre-

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sentation of a definite and conscious understanding of the science which lies back of them. In *Hamlet*, for example, the king of the play within the play says:

My spirits grow dull, and fain I would beguile  
The tedious day with sleep.<sup>6</sup>

Or again Prospero, in *The Tempest*, says to Ferdinand:

Thy nerves are in their infancy again  
And have no vigour in them.

"So they are" replies Ferdinand,

My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.<sup>7</sup>

And in the same play, Sebastian, remarking:

I find not myself disposed to sleep,

receives from Antonio the reply:

Nor I; my spirits are nimble.<sup>8</sup>

Notice, however, that the genius of Shakespeare did not feel itself called upon to give a physiological explanation of sleep at any point in the plays. George Chapman, on the other hand, constantly displays the wealth of learning which lay at his finger tips, although in doing so he interrupts the progress of his plays and is consequently so much the less a dramatist. In *The Tragedy of Chabot*, for example, Chapman has the Proctor-General say:

I mean not sleep, which the philosophers call a natural cessation of the common, and, consequently, of all the exterior senses, caused first and immediately by a detention of spirits, which can have no communication, since the way is obstructed by which these spirits should commerce, by vapours ascending from the stomach to the head; by which evaporation the roots of the nerves are filled, through which the (animal) spirits (use) to be poured into the dwellings of the external senses.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, to have a thorough understanding of this passage from Chapman, it is necessary to go to those Elizabethan psychologists who were somewhat more familiar with current developments of mediaeval science. These writers may be best represented by Thomas Coghan, Andreas Lauren-

tius, and Petrus Valentinus, — all physicians, whose works were published between the years 1584 and 1612. According to them, the causes of sleep must be divided into four logical groups called the material, formal, efficient, and final causes. The material cause, according to Petrus Valentinus' *Epitome of . . . Physicke*, 1612, is the sweet and pleasant vapor or fume which, produced by the digestion in the stomach, rises to the head where (being congealed by the coldness of the brain) it stops up the passages of the senses and spirits so that the members of the body cease all motion.<sup>10</sup> Thomas Coghlan in the 1584 edition of his *Haven of Health* says that such a theory can be plainly demonstrated by the fact that we are most prone to sleep immediately after eating, and that the more volatile things, such as wine, most dispose us to sleep.<sup>11</sup> The formal cause is the withdrawal of the five senses from the outward parts to the inward. The efficient cause is the withdrawal of the heat from the outward parts to the inward so that the organs of digestion may better function. This is the reason we need more covering while sleeping than while waking. There are three final causes of sleep: first, that the brain and heart may be moistened and rested; second, that the action of the liver and stomach may be stronger; and third that sleep may be the image or brother of death, for as in sleep the body rests while the soul remains awake, so in death the body rests while the soul and spirit live.<sup>12</sup> This last conception of the likeness of sleep to death is discussed by numerous Elizabethan authors who find the reference in three classical writers, namely, Ovid, Cicero, and Seneca.<sup>13</sup> Shakespeare frequently refers to this conception. Macduff, for example, tells Malcolm to

Shake off this downy sleep, death's counterfeit,  
And look on death itself!<sup>14</sup>

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Oberon, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, speaks of "death-counterfeiting sleep," while Iachimo, in *Cymbeline*, calls sleep the "ape of death." So it is that Prince Hal can not recognize that the king is sleeping, but thinks him dead.<sup>15</sup>

Sleep, furthermore, as the physicians proved, is very necessary for the health of our bodies. Levin Lemnius, whose *Touchstone of Complexions* was published in 1581, tells us that sleep

refresheth the wearied powers of the body, fyrrerth vp the Spirites, recreateth the mynde, putteth away sorrow, & bringeth a man into good and quiet temper.<sup>16</sup>

John Jones, writing in 1579, says that there is a threefold necessity for sleep: it rests the wasted spirits, quiets the wearied senses, and improves digestion; for if there were no sleep, sense perception would perish, and with it life.<sup>17</sup> While Robert Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) informs us that sleep

moistens and fattens the body . . . and helps digestion (as we see in dormice, and those Alpine mice that sleep all winter) . . . when they are so found sleeping under the snow in the dead of winter, as fat as butter. It expels cares, pacifies the mind, refresheth the weary limbs after long work. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Shakespeare makes use of these scientific facts of the healing nature of sleep in that terrible, yet beautiful speech of Macbeth when he has just murdered Duncan:

Methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more!  
Macbeth does murder sleep,"—the innocent sleep,  
Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,  
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,  
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,  
Chief nourisher in life's feast,— . . .  
Still it cried, "Sleep no more!" to all the house;  
"Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor  
Shall sleep no more; Macbeth shall sleep no more."<sup>19</sup>

In Thomas Dekker's *The Guls Horn-Book*, there appears an interesting digression in which sleep is called

so inestimable a Jewel, that, if a Tyrant would giue his crowne for an houres slumber, it cannot be bought: . . . yea, so greatly indebted are we to this kinseman of death, that we owe . . . halfe of our life to him: and thers good cause why we should do so: for sleepe is that golden chaine that ties health and our bodies together. Who complains of want? . . . of cares? . . . whilst he sleepeth? Beggers in their beds take as much pleasure as Kings: . . .<sup>20</sup>

Shakespeare takes the same idea as that expressed in this straightforward statement of his contemporary, and turns it into a famous passage in *2 Henry IV* when the king, unable to sleep, paces the floor of his bed-chamber:

How many thousand of my poorest subjects  
Are at this hour asleep! O Sleep, O gentle Sleep,  
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,  
That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down  
And steep my senses in forgetfulness?  
Why rather, Sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,  
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee  
And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumber,  
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,  
Under the canopies of costly state,  
And lull'd with sound of sweetest melody?  
O thou dull god, why li'st thou with the vile  
In loathsome beds, and leav'st the kingly couch  
A watch-case or a common 'larum-bell? . . .  
Canst thou, O partial Sleep, give thy repose  
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude,  
And in the calmest and most stillest night,  
With all appliances and means to boot,  
Deny it to a king? Then happy low, lie down!  
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.<sup>21</sup>

Elizabethan writers on sleep go beyond philosophical and physiological considerations, however, and give directions for healthful sleep. Levin Lemnius suggests that we should sleep eight hours, Andreas Laurentius and William Vaughan recommend seven hours, while Thomas Elyot in *The Castel of Helth* feels that the amount of sleep needed should be guided by the state of health, the age, and the natural complexion of the individual.<sup>22</sup> Healthy men having good digestion need far less sleep than those with weak stomachs, the

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middle-aged need less than the very young or the very old, while sanguine and choleric men need less than phlegmatic ones, and melancholic men need most of all.<sup>23</sup>

As for the time to sleep, there seems to be a great deal of unanimity, all of the writers whom I have encountered advising, as one might expect, that we should sleep at night and should begin our sleep from two to four hours after eating.<sup>24</sup> If for some reason or other you find that you must sleep immediately after a meal, says Andrew Boorde, you should go to sleep standing up against the cupboard, or sitting upright in a chair, otherwise divers infirmities will be engendered such as the dropsy, the gout, and diseases of the spleen.<sup>25</sup> But whatever you do, don't go to sleep in the daytime, cautions Dr. Peter Lowe, for such an action will fill the brains full of humidity, interfere with digestion, and bring on such symptoms as ganting, risting, heaviness of the members, catarrh of the head, and various other sicknesses.<sup>26</sup> Shylock realizes all this, for he intends to get rid of Launcelot, who, he says, "sleeps by day more than the wildcat."<sup>27</sup> The prolific Thomas Dekker, after considering the habits of young women, thinks otherwise, however, for he insists, although without medical authority, that

midday slumbers are golden; they make the body fat, the skin faire, the flesh plump, delicate and tender; they set a russet colour on the cheekes of young women, and . . . make us thrifty, both in sparing victuals . . . and in preserving apparell; for while wee warm us in our beds, our clothes are not worn.<sup>28</sup>

When you have decided that it is time to go to bed, rest first on the left side for a little while. But before you go to sleep be sure to turn on your right side so that the meat in the stomach will be near the liver, for, as Elyot, Burton, and others remind us, the liver is to the stomach as the fire is to the pot.<sup>29</sup> Andrew Boorde suggests that if you are troubled with poor digestion, it will be all right for you to sleep



groveling on your stomach.<sup>30</sup> But never sleep on your back, for according to Lemnius you will get apoplexies, palsies, the falling sickness, etc.<sup>31</sup> Laurentius explains that if you sleep on your back the ordinary excrements of the brain, which are usually purged through the nose and mouth, are likely to fall upon your backbone; or again, sleeping on your back will probably increase the heat of the kidneys, engender the stone, and will certainly send great quantities of vapors into the brain.<sup>32</sup>

Both Boorde and Lowe caution you that if you are especially careful of your health you will give attention to your covering too. Your night cap should be scarlet. Your quilt should be made of cotton, flax, or clean wool, and should be covered with white fustian. Be sure that your feet and head are well covered as coldness of the extremities is bad for the health. Neither should you sleep too cold nor too hot, and your bedroom windows must always be closed at night.<sup>33</sup>

For the most restful sleep, Dr. Bullein emphasizes the necessity for a quiet mind. That is the reason, as Rosalind tells Orlando, that "a priest that lacks Latin . . . sleeps easily." The malady of love, of course, interrupts sleep by interfering with this quiet of the mind. Thus Valentine, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* says, "Love hath chas'd sleep from my enthralled eyes."<sup>34</sup> Robert Burton urges you to lie in clean linen, and read some pleasant author or listen to sweet music. Shakespeare concurs in this statement when Glendower, in *1 Henry IV*, tells Mortimer to be quiet while his Welsh-speaking wife sings:

And rest your gentle head upon her lap,  
And she will sing the song that pleaseth you  
And on your eyelids crown the god of sleep,  
Charming your blood with pleasing heaviness.<sup>35</sup>

It is well, continues Burton, to sleep in a dark room and to have some basin of water gently dripping near your bed. It

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is a good idea, too, if you will take a stiff drink of ale or muscadine, or any other posset before you go to bed; some even recommend a sup of vinegar. "Inns and such like troublesome places," says Burton,

are not for sleep; one calls ostler, another tapster, one cries and shouts, another sings, whoops, halloos, . . . Who not accustomed to such noises can sleep amongst them?

One other point should be mentioned with regard to healthful hints for sleeping, and this is the matter of having too much or too little sleep. Too much sleep makes the body liable to palsies, apoplexies, rheums, and impostumes. It also dulls the wits and hinders the memory, filling the brain full of gross humors.<sup>36</sup> One of the most interesting discussions I have come across on the general subject of sleep, and especially too much sleep, appears in a collection of essays by Sir William Cornwallis, printed in 1610 at just about the time when Shakespeare retired from London to end his years at Stratford. It is such a good illustration of the Elizabethan essay, and applies so directly to our subject that it may be well to quote this brief essay in its entirety. "My custom," begins Sir William,

is about this time of day to sleepe, to auoide which now I choose to write so, if this bee a drowsie stile, and sleepily done, yet if it be not worse then sleepe, I goe not backward, for it serues in sleepes roome. This sleepe is to me in the nature that Dung is to Ground, it makes the soile of my apprehension more solid, & tough, it makes it not so light, & pleasant, & I am glad of it, for I find my selfe too much subiect to a verbal quicknes; thus I think it good for me that I am of a drie barraine mould, but for others it may hap to make them waterish; the cause of this is common, as the effect, yet as some bodies are more subiect to it then others, so meats of one kinde prouoke it more then another. This makes me often play the Epicure, making my stomacke a coward, to fight with Partridge, Phesant, and much foule, whose Ayrie parts are more fine, and poyson not the brain with thicke vapours. The foure-footed Beastes are dull and grosse, and so is what proceeds from them. Well, for my part I will put away this sleepy humour, for it is an extreame spender. When I come at the end of a whole weeke to reckon how I haue bestowed it, in that seauen daies I finde nothing, but Item in sleepe, Item in sleepe: And in the end *Summa*

*totalis*, seuen nights, seuen Afternoones, beside halfe houres, and quarters, at vnaccustomed times; there is no proportion in this, especially to bestow so much of winking, I cannot blame *Alexander* though hee misliked it, and held that, and Lust, the arguments of Mortalitie; If he had vsed eight of clocke-houres, the *Persian* Empire might yet haue stood. Not so much but good Husbands hate it; and *Pedantes* haue made it a maine supporter of their instructions. I would liken it to Death, for it killes Eternitie, Fame neuer knew a perpetuall Bedpresser. Is it not a pittiful thing to see a fellow bestow halfe his Patrimonie in hobby-horses? then pitie all, who hauing but a little time, dedicate that to sleepe. But this is the effect of our Bodies, who in despite of our soules Diuinitie, will follow their naturall Inclinations, to lie along, and be sencelesse like their earthly Originall.<sup>37</sup>

If too much sleep has these bad effects, too little sleep is likewise dangerous for the body. It debilitates the animal spirits, hinders digestion, and makes the body apt to consumptions. Furthermore it causes dryness of the brain, madness, and makes the body dry, lean, and hard.<sup>38</sup> Thus Katherine, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, complains of her treatment, saying:

But I, who never knew how to entreat, . . .  
Am starv'd for meat, giddy for lack of sleep.<sup>39</sup>

Men of the melancholic humor are especially susceptible to insomnia because of the continual cares, fears, and sorrows with which their dry brains afflict them. That Shakespeare understood this medical dictum we can see in *The Winter's Tale* when Paulina speaks of Leontes' inability to sleep, saying:

. . . I  
Do come with words as medicinal as true,  
Honest as either, to purge him of that humour  
That presses him from sleep.—<sup>40</sup>

or when the abbess in *The Comedy of Errors* remarks that Antipholus has been driven mad because he lacks sleep.<sup>41</sup>

Elizabethan physicians recommend the use of several concoctions in cases of insomnia. Dr. Wirtzung suggests sirup of citrons, wormwood wine, or lettuce eaten in the evening.

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Some urge the use of poppy, violets, roses, nutmegs, mandragora, etc., taken in distilled water, while there is one remedy which uses the fat of a dormouse applied to the soles of the feet.<sup>42</sup> Iago seems to have been acquainted with various sleep-producing drugs, for, in a passage remarkable for its melody, he tells Othello :

Not poppy, nor mandragora,  
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,  
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep  
Which thou ow'dst yesterday.<sup>43</sup>

It should be of interest to note that Elizabethans recognized the disease encephalitis, which they called *coma somnolentum*. According to Dr. Philip Barrow this sleeping sickness is caused by hot and moist vapors arising from inferior parts and moistening the brain.<sup>44</sup>

No discussion of sleep and the infirmities thereof would be complete without a discussion of the nightmare, sometimes called the *incubus*, or the witch. This is an affliction wherein a man thinks he is stifled with a great weight lying on him in his sleep; it is usually accompanied by difficulties in speech, in breathing, and in motion. It usually occurs during the first sleep of night, when you are lying on your back. The sensation is of something creeping from the feet up the legs to the chest where it vexes you as though it were a ghost.<sup>45</sup> Peter Le Loyer, in his *Treatise*, describes the symptoms as follows :

A great difficulty of breathing doth always attend and accompany any them which are surprised therewith; and they have their senses wholly as it were confounded and besotted. In their sleepe they have an imagination that they are even strangled or choaked; and that they feel a kinde of maladie sodainly comming and seizing vpon them. And more than so, their voyce for the time is suppressed and taken away, and they can not be vnderstoode plainly or distinctly, but as if they stammered; by reason that to their seeming they imagine some man or woman . . . dooth stop their mouth for feare they should cry. They moove their armes and their legges to and fro in their bedde, thinking so to chase and drive them away, but all in vaine.<sup>46</sup>

In Shakespeare's day there were two views held concerning the nightmare. Some of the priests and most of the folk held that the disease was caused by evil spirits, either *incubi* or *succubi*, who defile the body at night since they are not able to prevail during the day. The physicians and more enlightened people believed it to be merely a disease caused by various indiscretions. Let us examine the first view, the basis of which seems to lie in a passage from the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, relating that the sons of God took wives from the daughters of men, and that there were giants in the earth in those days. Many of the church fathers, such as Tertullian, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, had written at length upon the validity of interpreting the "sons of God" to be evil angels, or evil spirits. Andrew Boorde says that he once talked with a nun of St. Albans who was so troubled, and that she convinced him as well as others. That great book of witchcraft, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, explains that when the evil spirits take on the forms of men, they can not only see and hear, but they can eat and digest food, and engage in various human activities. Furthermore, when the bodies of the evil spirits perform these functions, they do so more delicately than earthly bodies because the eyes and ears of the mind are far more subtle than the bodily senses.<sup>47</sup>

If you are troubled with the nightmare and feel that the cause is indeed an evil spirit sitting on your chest, you may have recourse to several remedies derived from folklore. You may, for example, copy the first five verses of *St. John's Gospel* on the sacramental paten, and then wash off the writing into a dish of water (dipped up by a pure person) in which have been soaked five herbs; add holy wine to the mixture; say three masses over the whole; and you won't have any more nightmares. Or you can find a stone with a

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natural hole in it and hang it on your bed. Perhaps on the whole the easiest thing to do is to say a magic charm before you go to bed. The character John in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* used to repeat the following night-spell:

Jhesu Crist and seinte Benedight,  
Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,  
For nyghtes verye, the white *pater-noster*!  
Where wentestow, seinte Petres soster?<sup>48</sup>

And many of us probably recall an old spell, said to the four posts of the bed, which runs:

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John  
Bless the bed I lie upon.

This may be considered as nothing more than a charm against the nightmare and other evil spirits of the night. Reginald Scot, in the *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), records an interesting spell which runs as follows:

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,  
He wakt by daie, so did he by night;  
Untill such time as he hir found,  
He hir beat and he hir bound,  
Untill hir troth she to him plight,  
She would not come to hir that night.<sup>49</sup>

While Edgar in *King Lear*, feeling that he is troubled with the nightmare, as well as other fiends, repeats the following:

St. Withold footed thrice the 'old;  
He met the night-mare, and her ninefold;  
Bid her alight,  
And her troth plight,  
And, aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!<sup>50</sup>

With such a wealth of magic rites and charms, then, you should never any more have trouble with the nightmare.

But perhaps you agree with the Elizabethan physicians that the nightmare is merely a disease of bodily infirmity caused by an excess of drinking or a continual irritation of the stomach, from which gross and cold vapors ascend to the head, filling the ventricles of the brain. Another cause is that these same raw vapors and melancholic blood proceed

to the regions around the heart and lungs, there creating a feeling of oppression. Some physicians consider the nightmare as a species of apoplexy, or, as they call it, the falling sickness. It differs from apoplexy only in that the vapors of apoplexy are venomous.<sup>51</sup> Falstaff probably has this in mind when he says to the Chief Justice :

This apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy, . . . a kind of sleeping in the blood, a whoreson tingling . . .<sup>52</sup>

If you are susceptible to the nightmare you should be very careful because this disease often leads to others such as the squinzy, convulsions, madness, and the falling sickness. Do not despair, however, for the Elizabethan physicians have many remedies for you. First of all you should avoid sleeping on the back, and should not eat flesh, eggs, veal, hare, venison, beef, or anything which produces a heavy stomach after supper. When you go to bed, put out of your mind any terrible objects or thoughts which may have come to you during the day. If these preventive measures are not efficacious, you might try wearing peony roots tied around the neck. One of the very best prescriptions is the following, which is good to strengthen the heart and the brains so that they can throw off the evil vapors: Take of red coral, mace, saffron, hart's bones, pearls, and burnt silk a dram each; take of galingale, cardamom, grains, long pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cleansed myrtle, peony kernels, and cinnamon an ounce each; mix these together with 34 ounces of white sugar, and boil in bugloss water until it makes an electuary. In the morning and evening you should eat a quantity of this compound the size of a large nut, and follow it with a draught of water in which peony roots have been decocted. If you still can get no relief, your trouble probably is that you are of a melancholic or sanguine complexion.<sup>53</sup>

Elizabethans then, as we have found, gave a good deal of

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consideration to the nature of sleep; it would naturally follow that they would also give their attention to the subject of dreams. And so they did. This matter of dreams, too, should be especially fascinating for us because of the fairly recent interest in that abnormal psychology which busies itself with the manifestation of the unconscious in sleep, for it would seem likely that the beginnings of modern dream psychology lie in certain philosophical, medical, and psychological doctrines which many authors of the English Renaissance got from mediaeval writers and further developed.

Dreams, as we recall, are the natural concomitance of the fact that during sleep, when the outward senses are at rest, it is the fancy or phantasy which lies awake to direct our activities. "A dreame," writes Christopher Langton,

is nothyng, but an ymagination made in the sleape, whan that dyuers spirites meete togyther in the brayne, whyche beyng the instrument of our thoughtes, do make dyuers ymages. Furthermore in sleepe, the inner senses be a great deale more at lybertye than the vtter be.<sup>54</sup>

Or as Thomas Nashe puts it, in *The Terrors of the Night*,

A dreame is nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie, which the day hath left vndigested; or an after feast made of the fragments of the idle imaginations.<sup>55</sup>

The matter is not so simple, however, as Nashe would have us believe, because we must consider the problem of the images of dreams. For as Dr. Timothy Bright reminds us, our dreams show us how the soul, although it lacks the use of the organs of sense, nevertheless is able to see, hear, speak, or experience any action whatsoever (together with the emotions accompanying it) as well as if we were actually awake. Furthermore, these pictures are not merely images of outward things which have been presented to our phantasy by common sense or by memory, because if this were so, we should still be able to fancy (or dream), even though



being awake, whereas when we are awake we are thoroughly aware that these images are derived from the phantasy. The fact is, continues Dr. Bright, that the soul is so closely linked to the body, that during our waking hours the body actually hinders the actions of the phantasy. In other words, in sleep our phantasy can perceive those truths which are denied to it when we are awake, and it is the mind alone, not the senses, which is able to experience these things.<sup>56</sup>

Thomas Hobbes, writing some fifty years later, insists that since the organs of sense are benumbed in sleep, and therefore cannot be stimulated, dreams must be more clear, even, than waking sensations; this is the reason it is so difficult to distinguish between reality and dreams. Hobbes adds, however, that he has no such difficulty, for when waking he can often recognize the absurdity of his dreams, but in his dreams, he never recognizes the absurdity of his waking life. Others are so troubled, though. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, Demetrius says to Helena :

Are you sure that we're awake? It seems to me  
That yet we sleep, we dream.<sup>57</sup>

And Hobbes goes on to use the fact of this difficulty to explain the tales some people tell that they have seen ghosts, fairies, goblins, or think they have seen the power of witches. Hobbes here adds the gratuitous information that although he does not believe in witches, yet they ought to be punished anyway since they think their witchcraft is a real power and would do harm if they could.<sup>58</sup>

There are many causes of dreams. According to Batman, dreams come from a vaporous humor rising from the stomach to the brain in natural digestion, or from too much food, or drink, or from sleeping on the back.<sup>59</sup> Thus in a play by Beaumont and Fletcher, a gentleman asks a scholar,

Have you no fearful dreams?

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and receives the reply,

Sometimes, as all have  
That go to bed with raw and windy stomachs.<sup>60</sup>

While Imogene, in *Cymbeline*, says of her dream,

'Twas but a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing,  
Which the brain makes of fumes. . . .<sup>61</sup>

Dr. Boorde suggests that dreams may arise from a weakness or emptiness of the head.<sup>62</sup> If we prefer not to dream, another author, writing in 1641, warns us to avoid beans, peas, onions, chestnuts, pork, beef, etc.<sup>63</sup>

But perhaps the best way to get at the cause of dreams is to examine the various kinds according to Elizabethan writers. Dr. Langton refers us to Homer who, in the *Odyssey*, speaks of two kinds of dreams: true dreams which come to us through the gate of polished horn, and false ones which enter through the gate of ivory.<sup>64</sup> Although I have been unable to find references to this idea in Shakespeare, other Elizabethan writers mention it quite often. Spenser makes use of the conception in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, and Thomas Kyd, in the *Spanish Tragedy*, has the ghost of Andrea say to Revenge:

Forthwith, Revenge, she rounded thee in th'eare,  
And bad thee lead me through the gates of Horn,  
Where dreames haue passage in the silent night.<sup>65</sup>

Other, and more professional writers, however, make more reasonable divisions. Five kinds of dreams are usually discussed: natural, accidental, divine, diabolical, and supernatural. But some writers combine natural and accidental, while others combine divine, diabolical, and supernatural. Natural dreams are those which are due to the predominant complexion or humor of the individual. The choleric man dreams of wars, fire, or debates; the phlegmatic man dreams of waters, drownings, and storms; the sanguine man dreams of love and happy things; the melancholic man dreams of

death, dangers, and fears.<sup>66</sup> It is very necessary for the physician to be familiar with these facts so that he may be able to know the complexion and constitution of his sick patient, for no man can minister to physical ills unless he knows the dominant humor of his patient.

Another kind of natural dreams, called accidental, occurs when we dream at night on those subjects which fill our minds during the day. Judges dream of controversies of law, soldiers of battles, carters of their carts. If we have talked or thought on anything very earnestly during the day, that will appear in our dreams. And thus a vicious soul will picture to itself in dreams "the terrors that it feareth. . . ."<sup>67</sup> Or as Thomas Cooper explains the matter in his work on witchcraft, 1617,

And so also by these Dreames may we coniecture of *the sinnes of the heart*: because what we conceiue or practise in the day, will be corruptly dreamed of in the night, to make vs more inexcusable.<sup>68</sup>

Divine dreams are obviously those which God works in men's minds either by himself or else by means of angels, and which give an insight of things to come. David Person postulates a *spiritus universitatis* or universal spirit by which God works in us. Such were the prophecies of Jacob, Joseph, Daniel, and others. And Thomas Churchyard has such a conception in mind when, in his volume of verse called *Chippes*, he writes:

Yet of som dreams that aer deuien  
Let me a lytell heer defien  
For priuy warnings god doth giue  
By sleeps to toes that heer do liue.  
Was not the dreams of kings sought owt  
By dannieil who, maed cleer eatch dowt . . . .  
By dreams sometims does he [God] procuer  
A man to think on things to com,  
A dream may speak that seemeth dom.<sup>69</sup>

Some writers even think that these angels of God, or souls of dead people may appear actually to a sleeping man; but

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the anonymous author of the *Divine Dreamer* insists that this cannot be.<sup>70</sup> Shakespeare's character Antigonus agrees, when in *The Winter's Tale* he relates to the child in his arms:

I have heard, but not believ'd, the spirits o' the dead  
May walk again. If such things be, thy mother  
Appear'd to me last night, for ne'er was dream  
So like a waking.<sup>71</sup>

Diabolical dreams are, contrariwise, those which are framed in the brain by Satan; they appear especially to witches and conjurers, although they may annoy anyone. Sometimes, states Langton, the devil himself, disguised as an angel, may come to men in their sleep and show them horrible spectacles. Cooper believes you can easily tell the difference between divine and diabolical dreams because the former

concerne Generall and Necessarie things to bee knowne, as the comming of *Christ*, *Reuealing of Antichrist*, &c. but those from Sathan, are either of curious, or triuiall and vaine matters, eyther not fit, or worthie to be knowne.<sup>72</sup>

Supernatural dreams foreshadow things to come. Langton and Vaughan insist they are not produced by means of any divine power. It is just as reasonable, argues Langton, to find certain men who are gifted by nature in interpreting dreams, as to find others who are gifted in music, medicine, or law. There is no evident cause of this kind of dreams, even in humors or complexions. Vaughan places supernatural dreams midway between natural and divine ones, and states that they are more likely to occur in the early morning when the brain is free from the vapors of the meat, which before had dulled it.<sup>73</sup> Cooper and Laurentius, on the other hand, say that supernatural dreams come either from God or from the devil, and are therefore true or false according to their origin.<sup>74</sup> Several characters in the plays of

Shakespeare have supernatural dreams. In *The Winter's Tale*, Antigonus recalls that he had formerly considered a belief in dreams as superstitious, but he would pay heed to this one:

Dreams are toys;  
Yet for this once, yea, superstitiously,  
I will be squar'd by this.<sup>75</sup>

Nor must we overlook the passage where Caesar remembers Calpurnia's dream that he will be murdered.<sup>76</sup>

Let us now examine more closely the dreams which are called natural, remembering that these are of two kinds: those which arise from the complexion or temperament of the individual, and those which come from the passions and desires of the mind, inhibited or otherwise. First let us recall that there are four humors arising in the liver which are found in the blood of all men: choler, blood, phlegm, and melancholy. Each man, however, has one of these humors dominant, and thus are produced four types or complexions of men: choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, and melancholic, according to the dominant humor in the individual. And from the natural and habitual predominance of a particular humor, we have definite characteristics of body, mind, and soul. Now health is nothing but a proper, although not equal, mixture of these humors, while sickness occurs when this mixture becomes deranged. Furthermore, a physician must know the dominant humor in a man before he can prescribe, for each complexion has affinities for certain diseases. Thus, Dr. Lowe gets from Cardan the information that a physician must give attention to dreams so that he may know the type of man with whom he has to deal.<sup>77</sup> Thomas Tryon says:

Physitians generally agree, that the natural temperament or complexion, and consequently many times the secret Diseases of persons are as soon, or better found out by their *Dreams*, than by any outward signs.<sup>78</sup>

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Or as Dr. Wright puts it:

And in effect we prooue in dreames, and Physitians prognosticate by them, what humour aboundeth, for Choler causeth fighting, blood and wounds; Melancholy, disgrace, feares, affrightments, ill successe, and such like; these dreames are caused by the spirits, which ascend into the imagination, the which being purer or grosser, hotter or colder, more or lesse, (which diuersitie dependeth vpon the humours of the bodie) moue diuers Passions according to their Nature.<sup>79</sup>

The cause of dreams in melancholy people seems to be a dry brain; thus, when the messenger in the *Faerie Queene* finds Morpheus asleep and shakes him,

As one then in a dreame, whose dryer braine  
Is tost with troubled sights and fancies weake,  
He mumbled soft, but would not all his silence breake.<sup>80</sup>

We remember too that melancholy men dream of sad and unpleasant things; so Leonato, in *Much Ado*, discusses Beatrice, saying:

There's little of the melancholy element in her. . . . She is never sad but when she sleeps, and not ever sad then; for I have heard my daughter say, she hath often dreamed of unhappiness and wak'd herself with laughing.<sup>81</sup>

Indeed, Nashe, in *The Terrors of the Night*, tells us that "melancholy is the mother of dreames, and of all terrours of the night whatsoever."<sup>82</sup> We recall, further, that choleric men dream of wars, battles, etc. This fact explains a passage in Cyril Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* which reads:

These idle dreams  
Are fabulous, Our boyling fantasies  
Like troubled waters falsify the shapes  
Of things retained in them, and make 'em seem  
Confounded when they are distinguished. So  
My actions daily conversant with war,  
The argument of blood and death have left  
Perhaps the imaginary presence of  
Some bloody accident upon my mind. . . .<sup>83</sup>

Likewise Anne, in *Richard III*, recognizes the choleric temperament when she tells Gloucester:

Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,  
That never dreamt on aught but butcheries.<sup>84</sup>

To continue our discussion of natural dreams, we find that perhaps one of the most interesting conceptions of the Elizabethans has to do with dreams as signs of the secret passions of the mind. In *The Atheist's Tragedy*, Cyril Tourneur has one of his characters explain:

Dreams are but the raised  
Impressions of premeditated things  
By serious apprehension left upon  
Our minds; <sup>85</sup>

Thomas Nashe, too, relates concerning dreams:

Diuers haue written diuersly of their causes, but the best reason among them all that I could euer picke out, was this, that as an arrow which is shot out of a bow, is sent forth manie times with such force, that it flyeth farre beyond the marke wherat it was aymed; so our thoughts intensiuely fixt all the day time vpon a marke wee are to hit, are now and then ouer-drawne with such force, that they flye beyonde the marke of the day into the confines of the night. . . . In the daye time wee torment our thoughts and imaginations with sundry cares and deuices; all the night time they quake and tremble . . . , and still continue thinking of the perplexities they haue endured. . . . Our cogitations runne on heapes like men to part a fray, where euerie one strikes his next fellow. From one place to another without consultation they leap, like rebells bent on a head, Souldiers just vp and downe they imitate at the sacke of a Citie, which spare neither age nor beautie; the yong, the old, trees, steeples, & mountaines, they confound in one gallimafrie.<sup>86</sup>

That such conceptions of dreams are eminently correct is shown by many scientific writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lemnius, for example, tells us that dreams come either from the business and actions of the day which impress themselves upon our memory, or else from some earnest or greedy desire which we should like to bring to pass:

For what things soeuer, a man earnestly and exceedingly desyreth, or hath his minde still running on, the same (being a Sleepe) hee thinketh and dreameth vpon in the night.<sup>87</sup>

"Likewise," concurs the anonymous author of the *Divine Dreamer*,

such men as have sustained some great losse, either in their honours,

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body, goods, parents, kindred or friends, and oftentimes in their dreames they haue very strange, fearfull and mournfull apparitions: . . .<sup>88</sup>

And so it is, writes John Melton, that your lawyer dreams of money,

A most blessed dreame, and if he chance to talk in his sleepe, it is most commonly of Demurs, Habeas Corpusses, Sissararas, Writs . . . The Phisitian he dreams of a great Plague, and if he talks, it is of nothing but Purgations, Vomits, Glisters, and Pills. I knew a Player dreamt that his braines were beaten out with the Corke of a groate bottle of Ale, and as he was speaking the Prologue it hist at him, because he spake so scuruily.<sup>89</sup>

Similarly, Mercutio tells Romeo about Queen Mab, saying:

And in this state she gallops night by night  
Through lovers' brains, and then they dream of love;  
On courtiers' knees, that dream on curtsies straight,  
O'er lawyers' fingers, who straight dream on fees,  
O'er ladies' lips, who straight on kisses dream, . . .  
Sometime she gallops o'er a courtier's nose,  
And then dreams he of smelling out a suit;  
And sometime comes she with a tithe-pig's tail  
Tickling a parson's nose as 'a lies asleep,  
Then dreams he of another benefice.  
Sometime she driveth o'er a soldier's neck,  
And then dreams he of cutting foreign throats,  
Of breaches, ambuscadoes, Spanish blades,  
Of healths five fathom deep; and then anon  
Drums in his ear, at which he starts and wakes,  
And being thus frighted swears a prayer or two  
And sleeps again.<sup>90</sup>

While Samuel Daniel, in his sonnet sequence, *To Delia*, writes,

Cease, dreams, th' images of day-desires,  
To model forth the passions of the morrow;  
Never let the rising sun approve you liars,  
To add more grief to aggravate my sorrow.<sup>91</sup>

In a consideration of the causes of dreams, however, even more striking are the words of Thomas Tryon, writing near the end of the seventeenth century, which show the importance of dreams in psychological diagnosis:

Since the *Heart of man is deceitful above all things*, therefore for him that would truly *know himself*, it has by the wise Doctors of *Morality*



been always advised to take notice . . . of his usual *Dreams*, there being scarce any thing that more discovers the secret bent of our minds and inclinations to Vertue or Vice, or this or that particular Evil, . . . then these nocturnal sallies and reaches of the *Soul*, which are more free & undisguis'd, & with less reserve than such as are manifested when we are awake.<sup>92</sup>

It is fairly obvious, then, that people for many centuries have been curious about the conduct of the body during sleep, and that the Elizabethans were just as assiduous as the most modern of us in inventing answers to their self-put questions concerning dreams. It may be that their psychological probings, as here revealed, will help to guide us to a clearer understanding of the mental processes of the Elizabethans, and hence to a more complete conception of the plays of Shakespeare. Nor must we take a supercilious view of the mental foibles of a past age, for future generations will laugh at us too, for our attempts to fathom the workings of the mind; perhaps some of us are smiling even now.

CARROLL CAMDEN, JR.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy* (London, 1586), 114.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York, 1924), 102 (first edition in 1621).

<sup>3</sup>Levin Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London, 1581), 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup>George G. Fox, *The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower* (Princeton, 1931), 95-96; Peter Lowe, *A Discourse of the Whole Art of Chyrurgerie* (London, 1634), 52; Stephen Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome* (London, 1582), 81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup>Christopher Wirtzung, *Praxis Medicinae vniuersalis; Or A generall Practise of Physicke* (London, 1598), 618.

<sup>6</sup>III. ii. 236-237.

<sup>7</sup>I. ii. 484-486.

<sup>8</sup>II. i. 201-202.

<sup>9</sup>III. ii. 38-50.

<sup>10</sup>Petrus Valentinus, *Enchiridion Medicum: containing An Epitome of the whole Course of Physicke* (London, 1612), 17-18.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Coghan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1584), 237.

<sup>12</sup>Andreas Laurentius, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: of Melancholike diseases* (London, 1599), 94-95; Christopher Langton, *An introduction into phisycke* (London, 1550?), 80<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>; Lowe, *op. cit.*, 52; David Person, *Varieties* (London, 1635), 246-247; John Jones, *The Arte & Science of preseruing Bodie and Soule in al Health*, . . . (London, 1579), 47-48.

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<sup>13</sup>Wirtzung, *op. cit.*, 618; William Bullein, *A newe Boke of Phisicke called y<sup>e</sup> Gouernment of Health*, . . . (London, 1559), 89.

<sup>14</sup>*Macbeth*, II. iii. 81.

<sup>15</sup>*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 364; *Cymbeline*, II. ii. 31; 2 *Henry IV*, IV. v. 31-37; *Winter's Tale*, V. iii. 18; Chapman, *Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey*, V. v. 105-123; John Davies, *Microcosmosus*, Oxford, 1603, 71; Chaucer calls sleep the "nорice of digestioun" (*Cant. Tales*, F., 347).

<sup>16</sup>Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup>Jones, *op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>18</sup>Burton, *op. cit.*, 356-358.

<sup>19</sup>*Macbeth*, II. ii. 35-43. Also cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 231-233; *Macbeth*, III. iv. 141-144; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 435; Davies, *op. cit.*, 71-72; Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet 19; Bartholomew Griffin, "Care-Charmer Sleep," *Fidessa*; William Drummond, "Sleep, Silence' Child," Hebel and Hudson, *Poetry of the English Renaissance* (New York, 1930), 565; John Fletcher, "Care-charming Sleep," Hebel and Hudson, 396.

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Dekker, *Non-Dramatic Works*, Huth Library, vol. II, 216.

<sup>21</sup>III. i. 4-31.

<sup>22</sup>Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 57<sup>v</sup>; Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 189; William Vaughan, *Directions for Health* (London, 1617), 283; Lowe, *op. cit.*, 53; Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London, 1541), 45<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>23</sup>Burton, *op. cit.*, 356-358; Andrew Boorde (*Dyetary of Helth*, EETS, Ex. Ser., vol. X, 245) says that sanguine men should sleep seven hours, phlegmatic men nine hours, melancholic men as long as they like.

<sup>24</sup>Elyot, *op. cit.*, 45<sup>v</sup>; Burton, *op. cit.*, 163; Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 189; Bullein, *op. cit.*, 89.

<sup>25</sup>Boorde, *op. cit.*, 245-246.

<sup>26</sup>Lowe, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>27</sup>*Merchant of Venice*, II. v. 47-48.

<sup>28</sup>Dekker, *Guls Horn-Book*, *Non-Dramatic Works*, Huth Library, vol. II, 218.

<sup>29</sup>Elyot, *op. cit.*, 46<sup>r</sup>; Burton, *op. cit.*, 356-358; Bullein, *op. cit.*, 89-90; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 284.

<sup>30</sup>Boorde, *op. cit.*, 246-247.

<sup>31</sup>Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 59<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>32</sup>Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 189-190.

<sup>33</sup>Boorde, *op. cit.*, 247; Lowe, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>34</sup>Bullein, *op. cit.*, 89; *As You Like It*, III. ii. 336-337; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. iv. 133; *Richard II*, I. ii. 122; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. ii. 78-81; Sir William Davenant, "Night's First Song," *Luminalia*.

<sup>35</sup>Burton, *op. cit.*, 356-358; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, IV. i. 87.

<sup>36</sup>Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 283; Bullein, *op. cit.*, 90; Gulielmus Gratarolus, *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Students* (London, 1574), 83<sup>r</sup>; Juan Ludovico Vives, *An Introduction to Wysedome* (London, 1550), D4<sup>r</sup>; Burton, *op. cit.*, 163; Elyot, *op. cit.*, 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>; Lowe, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>37</sup>Sir William Cornwallis, *Essayes* (London, 1610), 18<sup>r</sup>-K1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>38</sup>Elyot, *op. cit.*, 46<sup>r</sup>; Burton, *op. cit.*, 163; cf. Dekker, *op. cit.*, II, 217.

<sup>39</sup>IV. iii. 7-9.

<sup>40</sup>II. iii. 36.

<sup>41</sup>*Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 68; Langton, *op. cit.*, 83<sup>r</sup>; Davies, *op. cit.*, 72; Burton, *op. cit.*, 456; Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 94.

<sup>42</sup>Wirtzung, *op. cit.*, 651; Lowe, *op. cit.*, 52-53; Burton, *op. cit.*, 457; John Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano*, EETS, O.S., vol. 139, 100-101; John Banister, *An Antidotarie Chyrurgicall* (London, 1589), 119; Gervase Markham, *The English House-wife* (London, 1631), 12; John Vigo, *The most excellent worckes of Chirurgery* (London, 1550), 229<sup>r</sup>; John Vago, *Practyce . . . in Medycyne* (London, 1550?), B5<sup>r</sup>; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 284.

<sup>43</sup>III. iii. 330-333.

<sup>44</sup>Philip Barrow, *The Method of Phisick* (London, 1596), 30-31.

<sup>45</sup>Walter Bruel, *Praxis Medicinæ or The Physicians Practice* (London, 1632), 50-51; Wirtzung, *op. cit.*, 182; Bright, *op. cit.*, 128; Barrow, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>46</sup>Pierre Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters* (London, 1605), 101<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup>Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Summers (London?, 1930, first edition in 1584), 42, 49-50; Andrew Boorde, *Breuiary of Helthe* (London, 1547), 52; John Melton, *Astrologaster, or The Figure-Caster* (London, 1620) 66-67; Batman, *op. cit.*, 84<sup>r</sup>; Le Loyer, *op. cit.*, 101<sup>v</sup>; Thomas Nashe, "Terrors of the Night," *Works*, vol. I (London, 1910), 359; G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, 1929), 218, 219, 221; cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit Without Money*, V. i, *Works* (Cambridge, 1905), vol. II, 196.

<sup>48</sup>*Canterbury Tales*, A. 3483-6.

<sup>49</sup>Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 147, 218-219; Scot, *op. cit.*, 49.

<sup>50</sup>III. iv. 125-129.

<sup>51</sup>Barrow, *op. cit.*, 43-44; Bruel, *op. cit.*, 50-51; Bright, *op. cit.*, 128; Melton, *op. cit.*, 66; Batman, *op. cit.*, 84<sup>r</sup>; Boorde, *op. cit.* (1547), 53<sup>r</sup>; Le Loyer, *op. cit.*, 101<sup>v</sup>; Langton, *op. cit.*, 87<sup>v</sup>; Scot, *op. cit.*, 49; Adrian Junius, *The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer* (London, 1585), 427<sup>a</sup>; Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 113<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup>2 *Henry IV*, I. ii. 126-128.

<sup>53</sup>Wirtzung, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

<sup>54</sup>Langton, *op. cit.*, 87<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup>Thomas Nashe, *Terrors*, *op. cit.*, 355.

<sup>56</sup>Bright, *op. cit.*, 114-116; cf. Batman, *op. cit.*, 83<sup>r</sup>; *The Divine Dreamer* (London, 1641), B1<sup>v</sup>; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 288; Le Loyer, *op. cit.*, 2<sup>r</sup>; Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum* (London, 1599), 47; Fox, *op. cit.*, 96-97; Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 52<sup>r</sup>; Ben Jonson, *The Poetaster*, IV. ix. 29-44.

<sup>57</sup>IV. i. 197-198; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. 139-141.

<sup>58</sup>Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge, 1904), 5-7.

<sup>59</sup>Batman, *op. cit.*, 85<sup>r</sup>; cf. Melton, *op. cit.*, 66; Lemnius, *op. cit.*, 52<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup>*The Pilgrim*, III. vi.

<sup>61</sup>IV. ii. 300-301.

<sup>62</sup>Boorde, *op. cit.*, 95.

<sup>63</sup>*Divine Dreamer*, *op. cit.*, B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup>Langton, *op. cit.*, 86<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>; *Odyssey* (Cambridge, 1921), 398.

<sup>65</sup>Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 42, 43, 44; Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, II. 674-677; Chapman, *Masque of the Middle Temple*, 366-367.

<sup>66</sup>Person, *op. cit.*, 251-252; Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 99.

<sup>67</sup>Person, *op. cit.*, 252; Langton, *op. cit.*, 87<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>; Laurentius, *op. cit.*, 99-100.

<sup>68</sup>Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-Craft* (London, 1617), 146.

<sup>69</sup>Person, *op. cit.*, 252-253; Langton, *op. cit.*, 88<sup>v</sup>; Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (London, 1575), 73<sup>v</sup>; John Marbeck, *A Booke of Notes* (London, 1581), 316-317.

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- <sup>70</sup>*Divine Dreamer*, op. cit., B1<sup>v</sup>.  
<sup>71</sup>III. iii. 16-19.  
<sup>72</sup>Langton, op. cit., 88<sup>r</sup>; Cooper, op. cit., 146-148; Batman, op. cit., 83<sup>r</sup>-84<sup>v</sup>; Person, op. cit., 253.  
<sup>73</sup>Langton, op. cit., 88<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>; Vaughan, op. cit., 288-289.  
<sup>74</sup>Cooper, op. cit., 144; Laurentius, op. cit., 100.  
<sup>75</sup>III. iii. 39-41.  
<sup>76</sup>*Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 2-3.  
<sup>77</sup>Lowe, op. cit., 54.  
<sup>78</sup>Thomas Tryon, *Pythagoras His Mystick Philosophy Reviv'd; or the Mystery of Dreams Unfolded* (London, 1691), 5-6; Lemnius, op. cit., 112<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>r</sup>; Laurentius, op. cit., 95.  
<sup>79</sup>Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Mind in Generall* (London, 1621), 65; cf. Batman, op. cit., 83<sup>v</sup>; Scot, op. cit., 103; Melton, op. cit., 66; W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (New York, 1926), 205-206; *Divine Dreamer*, op. cit., B2<sup>r</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup>.  
<sup>80</sup>I. i. 42.  
<sup>81</sup>II. i. 357-362.  
<sup>82</sup>Thomas Nashe, *Terrors*, op. cit., 357.  
<sup>83</sup>*Atheist's Tragedy*, III. vi; cf. Chapman, *Revenge of Bussy*, V. i. 36-53; *Richard III*, IV. i. 83-85; Churchyard, op. cit., 73<sup>r</sup>; Thomas Nashe, "The Praise of Red Herring," *Works*, vol. III (London, 1910), 197-198.  
<sup>84</sup>I. ii. 99-100.  
<sup>85</sup>III. vi.  
<sup>86</sup>Thomas Nashe, *Terrors*, op. cit., 355-358.  
<sup>87</sup>Lemnius, op. cit., 113<sup>v</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>.  
<sup>88</sup>*Divine Dreamer*, op. cit., B1<sup>r</sup>-B1<sup>v</sup>.  
<sup>89</sup>Melton, op. cit., 66-67; cf. notation printed in the margin of *Fourseuerall Treatises of M. Tullius Cicero* (London, 1577), Q3<sup>v</sup>.  
<sup>90</sup>*Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 70-88.  
<sup>91</sup>Samuel Daniel, "To Delia," Hebel and Hudson, *Poetry of the English Renaissance* (New York, 1930), 246. Cf. Michael Drayton, "Idea's Mirror," Hebel and Hudson, op. cit., 284; *Cymbeline*, V. iv. 123-151; *Macbeth*, II. i. 20-21; *Othello*, III. iii. 416-418; *Hamlet*, II. ii. 260-268; *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 187-192; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, IV. i. 70-72; *Richard III*, I. iv. 2-74, V. iii. 159-161; Chaucer, *Parliament of Fowles*, 99-105. In connection with the passage from the *Parliament of Fowles*, editors Walter W. Skeat and F. N. Robinson refer the reader also to Claudian, *De VI Consulatu Honorii Augusti, Praefatio*, ll. 3-10; Vincent of Beauvais, lib. xxvi, c. 62-63; *Roman de la Rose*, opening lines, and ll. 18564, 18601; Macrobius, *Comment. in Somn. Scipionis*, i. 3, 4; Petronius, *Fragm.* xxx; Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, i. 31.  
<sup>92</sup>Tryon, op. cit., 6-7. Cf. Batman, op. cit., 84<sup>r</sup>; Sir Thomas Overbury, "A faire and happy Milk-mayd," *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. Rimbault (London, 1856), 118-119; Thomas Kyd, *Cornelia*, III. i. 61-147; Thomas Traherne, "Dreams," *Poems of Felicity*, Hebel and Hudson, op. cit., 815; *Richard III*, V. iii. 151; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. i. 152-154; *Comedy of Errors*, II. ii. 184-185.